

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4273

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 05525

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR

SUBJECT: ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS

REF: (A) USNATO 5376, (B) STATE 135512

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A "NON-PAPER" DRAFT OUTLINE FOR THE EAST-WEST STUDY CIRCULATED BY THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF, WHICH INCORPORATES THE US OUTLINE (REF B) WITH MINOR MODIFICATIONS TO REFLECT SUGGESTIONS BY CANADIAN AND OTHER REPS AT THE JUNE 14 SPC MEETING (PARA 6 REF A). THIS PAPER WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE JUNE 21 SPC MEETING, AT WHICH WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS, ON THE BASIS OF EXISTING GUIDANCE, FOR CONSENSUS ON AN OUTLINE AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO THAT SUGGESTED BY WASHINGTON (REF B). WE EXPECT ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS FROM OTHERS REGARDING THE OUTLINE, WORK SCHEDULE, AND CONTRIBUTIONS AT THE JUNE 21 SPC MEETING. OUTLINE DEVELOPED BY THE SPC WILL, OF COURSE, BE REFERRED TO CAPITALS FOR FURTHER COMMENT AND EVENTUAL APPROVAL.

2. PRINCIPAL SUGGESTED CHANGES IN US OUTLINE, INCORPORATED IN IS DRAFT, ARE:

--HEADINGS INSERTED IN PART I AND CHANGES IN NUMBERING OF  
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PARAS.

--TRANSFER OF "YUGOSLAVIA" FROM SECTION ON EASTERN EUROPE TO SECTION ON EXTERNAL POLICIES (IB), TO ACCOMMODATE FRENCH, NORWEGIAN, AND CANADIAN REPS (PARA 2 REF A).

--ADDITION OF PHRASE "FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND

TRENDS" AT THE BEGINNING OF PARA IB.

--ALSO IN THIS PARA, REPLACEMENT OF "ACTIVITIES OF WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES" BY "RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CPSU AND OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES", TO MEET STRONG OBJECTION OF FRENCH AND ITALIAN REPS TO DIRECT TREATMENT OF WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES.

--IN PARA IC(I), DELETION OF PHRASE "AND ALSO TAKING ACCOUNT OF SOVIET GOALS AND OBJECTIVES", SINCE THIS POINT HAS BEEN INCLUDED IN THE PRECEDING PARA.

--IN PARA II(I), DELETION OF PHRASE "DERIVING FROM AN ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION AND TRENDS, AND LOOKING TO THE FUTURE", WHICH SOME REPS FELT COULD BE ELIMINATED WITHOUT CHANGING THE MEANING OF THIS PARA.

--IN PARA II(II), ADDITION OF THE WORDS "GENERAL POLICY" AFTER "INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF".

3. BEGIN TEXT OF THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF PAPER:

I. TRENDS IN THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE 1980S

A. TRENDS IN INTERNAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

(I) SOVIET UNION: TRENDS IN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. THIS SHOULD ALSO INCLUDE, FOR EXAMPLE, EVOLUTION IN COMMUNIST PARTY DOCTRINE AND SOVIET LEADERSHIP; DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES (INCLUDING THE NATIONALITY

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QUESTION); DISSIDENCE; AND ESPECIALLY CRITICAL FACTORS SUCH AS RESOURCES (PARTICULARLY ENERGY AND AVAILABILITY OF WESTERN CREDITS) AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES BETWEEN MILITARY AND NON-MILITARY ACTIVITIES. IN PROJECTING TRENDS, A LIMITED RANGE OF ALTERNATIVE ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT WESTERN BEHAVIOR SHOULD BE USED (E.G., IN ECONOMICS, WHETHER OR NOT ACCESS TO WESTERN CREDITS, TECHNOLOGY, AND TRADE IS AVAILABLE).

(II) EASTERN EUROPE: TRENDS IN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, BOTH REGIONALLY AND COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY, INCLUDING FOR EXAMPLE, THE IMPACT OF NATIONALISM, DISSIDENCE, AND EFFECTS OF LEADERSHIP CHANGES.

(III) SOVIET-EAST EUROPEAN RELATIONS. THIS WILL INCLUDE, FOR EXAMPLE, TRENDS IN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY RELATIONS, INCLUDING CEMA, WARSAW PACT, BILATERAL RELATIONS AND COMMUNIST PARTY EVOLUTION.

B. TRENDS IN EXTERNAL POLICIES

FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND TRENDS, INCLUDING  
EXTERNAL FACTORS AFFECTING THE SOVIET UNION (AND INDIVIDUAL  
EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AS APPROPRIATE), INCLUDING, FOR  
EXAMPLE, SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, YUGOSLAVIA AND OTHER  
EUROPEAN NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, THIRD WORLD AND  
NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CPSU AND OTHER  
COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND INTERDEPENDENCE ISSUES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 NATO 05525

C. OVERALL ASSESSMENT

(I) AN OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN POWER  
AND POLICIES DERIVING FROM THE FOREGOING, AND POSSIBLE  
EASTERN REACTIONS TO A FEW ALTERNATIVE WESTERN STRATEGIES  
AND APPROACHES. THIS SECTION SHOULD INCLUDE A COMPOSITE  
ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC,  
MILITARY AND SOCIAL STRENGTH.

(II) AN ANALYSIS IN EACH OF THE ABOVE AREAS POINTING TO  
THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH ARE SUSCEPTIBLE TO WESTERN INFLUENCE  
AND THOSE WHICH ARE NOT.

II. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE

(I) IMPLICATIONS OF THE ABOVE FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN  
EAST-WEST RELATIONS; IMPLICATIONS FOR WESTERN POWER AND  
POSITION IN VARIOUS TERMS: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, TRADE,  
MILITARY (INCLUDING DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL);  
AND SOCIAL - INCLUDING THE BROADER INTERESTS OF NATO ALLIES.

(II) DESCRIPTION OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO RESPOND TO THE TRENDS DISCUSSED ABOVE AND ANALYSIS OF IMPLICATIONS OF THESE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES. THE APPROACHES THUS ANALYZED SHOULD INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF GENERAL POLICY AND  
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OF SUCH ISSUES AS DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL; EAST-WEST TRADE, CREDITS, AND TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFERS; HUMAN RIGHTS AND CSCE; THIRD WORLD QUESTIONS; AND RELEVANT ALLIED POLITICAL AND MILITARY QUESTIONS.

(III) IMPLICATIONS OF THE ABOVE ANALYSES FOR CURRENT POLICIES OF NATO COUNTRIES.

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